

FREE elections—still important? Read page 643: what's happening in South Carolina and Iowa. Put issue squarely to your editor, to clergymen, to high school and college teachers of the social sciences—yes, to all who love America.

Human Events

YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 34

August 25, 1962

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Profile of Courage: As the filibuster threatened legislative paralysis last week, it was a united bloc of Republicans who gave the answer to the question asked by the dismayed galleries, "Who's in charge here?" * Somebody had to pass the satellite-communications bill.

In a general sense it was the Senate which took over when the President once again lost control of his majority in that body. But it was pre-eminently Senate GOP leader Everett Dirksen who marshalled the Republicans, closed the ranks and provided the parliamentary foundation—cloture—for pushing over the Telstar bill. The "profile of courage" in the White House wanted it passed, but was impotent to rally his own party in the upper chamber.

Dirksen appealed to his GOP Senators, "I have to have you. The prestige of the Senate, and of the country, is at stake." They went down the line. Senator Richard Russell (D.-Ga.) did the rest, producing just enough Southern votes for the bill (Smathers and Holland, Fla.) and just enough "absentees" among the Dixie Democrats (Byrd and Robertson, Va.; Fulbright and McClellan, Ark; Jordan, N.C.) to win the battle with a margin of three votes over the necessary two-thirds.

Emotion also took over in the Senate as the vast majority of the Senators had become completely fed up with the hysterical Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) and his handful of "last ditch liberals." They were determined to stop Morse this time. Dirksen and Russell made the arrangements.

The military provided the decisive push. The Senators knew what Senator Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) meant when he cried: "While the Russians orbit, we are filibustering." For Senator Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) had explained to the body that the admirals and generals demanded passage of the Telstar bill for reasons of national defense.

* *Who's In Charge Here?*—the title of a book of political humor by Gerald Gardner—has become a byword in Washington for the bedlam of the Kennedy era.

The filibuster ended. Its harvest? For one thing, a show of GOP unity which may have a salutary effect on the party's colliding factions in the grass roots. Next, a solution for the ancient filibuster vs. cloture wrangle. As Dirksen said: "This is proof that if you've got a case you can get cloture."

Finally, it provided a valid answer to the question "Who's in charge here?" Congress correctly took over, as it should, when a President ducks or domineers. Today that means Dirksen and Harry Byrd link arms in the Senate; Halleck and Howard Smith in the House. The Old Coalition rides again.

JFK Pressures the Press: The New Frontier's increasing use of pressure to keep the fourth estate "in line" exploded into the public view last week as a result of two different items: an article in the liberal *Look* magazine and Westbrook Pegler's termination of an 18-year-old contract with the Hearst-owned King Features Syndicate.

The *Look* article, written by veteran Washington reporter Fletcher Knebel, and widely publicized by the New York *Herald Tribune*, details the New Frontier's blackjacking techniques against reporters who have crossed swords with the New Frontier. Knebel reports that the President, personally, has called down at least six Washington correspondents for their sharply critical attacks on the Administration. They include, amusingly enough, even the dean of liberal correspondents, Walter Lippmann. Attorney General Robert Kennedy has "reproved at least four newspapermen," said Knebel, and sacked the FBI on an additional six.

"Never before have so few bawled out so many so often for so little," is the way Knebel puts it.

White House journalist for *Time* and *Life* Hugh S. Sidey told Knebel that after Kennedy personally scorched him for a *Time* article on the Cuban invasion, a White House "freeze" went into effect against *Time* for about two weeks.

Knebel says a Washington news bureau chief relates that one of the bureau's reporters was told by a White House official if his paper persisted in anti-Administration editorial policy, relations with the White House may grow "sour." The bureau chief sardonically retorted: "The Polish government once took such a retaliatory stand against an American reporter, but no US Administration ever had."

- The cancellation of Westbrook Pegler's contract with the Hearst-owned King Features Syndicate last week points up the difficulties encountered by writers for the daily press since Kennedy has been President.

The immediate cause of the Pegler-Hearst break, according to the *New York Times*, August 14, was a recent Pegler speech in which he charged that King Features had sent him "insolent, arrogant warnings . . . that nothing unfavorable to the Kennedy Administration or offensive to any member of the Kennedy family will be allowed out of New York, where the censors sit."

Political Blackjack: Representative Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) has unearthed another first rate scandal in Orville Freeman's political barnyard, sometimes called the Department of Agriculture. Last week, Hall bared the fact that the much heralded food stamp pilot programs, allegedly designed to help the needy, were being turned into a gigantic slush fund for the purpose of electing Democratic congressmen.

Of 26 congressional districts that have been selected for participation in these programs (which give a federal food subsidy to those on relief rolls), 25 districts happen to be represented by Democrats. The overwhelming majority of these programs will be conveniently put into effect just prior to the November election.

Moreover, the districts selected for these programs are represented by such key Democratic chairmen as Harold Cooley (N.C.) of the Agriculture Committee.

The deep political overtones in the administration of this measure were revealed when it was learned that John P. Saylor (R.-Pa.), who has requested a food stamp plan for his district, has been unable to get a sympathetic word from Freeman.

Yet Saylor's District in Pennsylvania (Johnstown) has the highest unemployment rate—over 12 per cent—of any area in the United States, according to the Department of Labor. Representative Leonor Sullivan's 3rd District in Missouri (St. Louis), which is conspicuously *not* a depressed area, however, will get the food stamp subsidy.

Michigan: Conservative Republicans won last week when the key 14th District (Detroit) GOP precinct delegate convention by a big margin elected a conservative as chairman and then went on to re-elect another leader of the right-wing faction, Stanley Baldwin, as chairman of the District party organization. Significantly, long-time conservative leader Richard Durant (see HUMAN EVENTS, August 11, page 593) won re-election as vice-chairman.

Gubernatorial candidate and auto-tycoon George Romney wanted Durant ousted from party office. But conservatives overruled Romney and, according to the *Detroit Free Press*, most 14th District delegates resented Romney's intrusion into their local affairs and his apparent attempt to eliminate conservative influence in the Michigan GOP.

Wheat Referendum: Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman is staging what Germans under Hitler nicknamed a "ja plebiscite," which always gave that dictator the "yes" he wanted. Freeman has decreed that wheat growers will go to the polls on August 30 to select the minimum government support price of wheat for the 1963 crop.

Although farmers show increasing dislike of government control programs, a majority of those wheat growers voting will undoubtedly choose the highest price, which will be calculated around a minimum of \$1.82 per bushel, tied to marketing quotas. That is what the farm organization experts in the Capital believe will happen.

The reason why this outcome is predicted is that the alternate choice presented by Freeman is economically unattractive. The choice is between a price support of \$1.82 per bushel tied to government-assigned marketing quotas or about \$1.22 per bushel with no quotas—a 50 per cent differential in market price. Thus, Freeman gets his "yes" plebiscite as inexorably as Hitler did with his terror.

As a consequence of Freeman's formula of "alternatives," it is believed by some that perhaps as many as 75 per cent of the eligible wheat growers will not vote at all, many of them staying away in protest against the "rigged choices." However, should wheat growers register a significant resistance to the current referendum, it might aid in discouraging further inroads by the government into farm operations.

Freeman ordered the referendum now (since winter wheat planting time is near) under "temporary provisions" of the present law. He was forced to do this because his proposed new farm bill, which would grant augmented dictatorial powers, was gutted in the House and soon faces an uncertain Senate. The powerful American Farm Bureau Federation is emphatically opposing any new farm legislation at all.

"Mr. Economy": It is a little known fact that when JFK in his TV speech claimed he sought to cut spending and attempted budget balancing, he had his eye on Senator Harry F. Byrd, "Mr. Economy" of the Congress. The Virginia Democrat's stiff budget-cutting stand—including threats to block a tax cut unless expenditures are also slashed—is considered by insiders to be the principal reason why the President withdrew his feeler about an emergency tax cut.

Byrd was the king-pin behind the cloakroom movement to kill such a cut unless there was a big across-the-board appropriations reduction. Kennedy's political machine couldn't afford that, with the elections coming up. The Virginian wields enormous power and influence not only in the Senate but also in the House.

Not the least of Byrd's armaments is his day-in-day-out plugging away in behalf of economy. Last week, he delivered an almost climactic broadside against spendthrift government. Not usually a

colorful orator, his mounting indignation led him to cite a vivid example. He pointed to a plan to spend \$1,201,925 in six years for the study of the "affectionate relationship of an infant monkey and his mother." This, Byrd noted, "while the federal government is operating on deficits running into billions of dollars a year."

And the Virginian's gentle sarcasm dwelt on Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, who a couple of months ago said "all sorts of money could be saved" by cleaning out "deadwood" from the payrolls. Yet Hodges' Department a month later increased the number of its employes by 1,600.

Also, Byrd exposed the gaseous nature of the White House publicity drive against federal stockpiles of strategic materials. Kennedy on January 11 said they should be reduced. Byrd remarked quietly: "Instead of reduction, the value of strategic and critical materials stockpiled by the government increased in February, March, April and May by approximately \$42.5 million (net)."

Nor does this Democratic Senate wheelhorse dodge tracing the responsibility right to the President himself. "Waste and extravagance permeate overstuffed agencies throughout the federal government both in Washington and elsewhere." He appealed to the President to exert leadership in cutting spending. Without this, he indicated, it will be prodigiously difficult to hold down spending, no matter how active are the economizers in Congress.

Government Pay Increase: While the Administration has attempted to hold wage and price increases in private industry to about 3 per cent annually, liberal Democrats in the Senate and House are pushing for a 12 per cent average salary increase for all workers in the federal government.

Reported out of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the bill will boost federal spending about \$1.5 billion a year and gives such outrageous salary hikes to federal employes that even the President has frowned upon it in its present form.

The liberal Washington *Post*, hardly one to carp about increases for federal employes, states the House bill has been turned into a "political football" and grieves over the fact that "not a single Democrat on the committee supported the President's view" for a milder increase in the federal pay scale raise.

Despite the excessive nature of the bill, liberal Senate leaders are planning to make it part of a veto-proof package. If the pay raise bill passes the House, they plan to tack onto it the Administration's much desired postal rate increase bill. Senator Olin Johnston (D-S.C.), chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has worked out this strategy with postal and government employee unions.

They figure the President would refuse to veto a combined package since to do so would kill the postal rate increase bill which he wants, even though it may be considerably watered down.

Representative H. R. Gross (R-Iowa) says the governmental pay increase bill should, therefore, be defeated in the House. He reminds his constituents the federal payroll, "now costing more than \$1 billion per month," would be increased by "another \$1 billion per year" if this bill became law.

Public Works: The House GOP Policy Committee went on record again last week as "unalterably opposed" to the "pork-barrel" emergency public works bill. House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) said it was "nothing more than a \$900 million political slush fund for the President."

In a special minority report on the bill, all but one of the 14 Republicans on the House Committee on Public Works charged that the funds would be channelled through a newly created agency "which would undoubtedly exercise controlling influence over all federal public works projects and state and local federal aid programs and projects . . ." By passing this bill, said the Republicans, Congress "will create a political pork-barrel czar [appointed by the President] who may turn on its creator like a Frankenstein monster."

The real end result of this bill, noted the Republicans, "is to give the President a book of blank checks with authority to draw \$900 million from the Treasury of the United States and to use such amounts thereof as he decides for the construction of projects he selects in localities of his choosing." As a result of the recent scandalous administration of the food stamp plan (see "Political Blackjack," this issue), Republicans remain more wary than ever of turning over any such powers to the Executive branch of the government.

MacArthur: At long last Congress has paid tribute to the nation's First Soldier, General Douglas MacArthur. Since being relieved of command by President Truman in 1951, MacArthur has been listed in the official record as an officer removed from all command for alleged insubordination.

Now Congress has wiped this mark off the official history books by unanimously agreeing to a resolution sponsored by Representative L. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.). The resolution expressed the "thanks and appreciation of the Congress and the American people" to General MacArthur and gave recognition to "his outstanding devotion to the American people, his brilliant leadership during and following World War II, and the unsurpassed affection held for him by the people of the Republic of the Philippines . . ."

Rigging the Figures: A charge that JFK was using "chicanery" and "rigged economic statistics" in his TV address was made by Missouri Republican Representative Thomas B. Curtis, member of the Joint Economic Committee. Among the President's many errors, Curtis noted, were the following:

REVEREND ROBERT I. VANCE, JR., First Baptist Church, Lyman, Maine: "I find HUMAN EVENTS very informative and certainly enjoy receiving it."

Corrected for inflation, the increase in the gross national product since JFK came to office is only 8.5 per cent, or \$42 billion, rather than the 10 per cent, or \$50 billion, which the President cited.

The President said: "We have had in the last 18 months the best record on price stability that we have had since the end of World War II." "That just flatly is not true," notes Curtis, pointing out that the Consumer Price Index has risen 1.5 per cent under Kennedy while in two previous three-year periods, 1948-50 and 1953-55, it rose not at all or only .1 per cent.

Also, JFK failed to note that the decrease in unemployment and the increase in industrial production about which he spoke were both less than those in any other post-recession recovery since World War II.

In addition, "January, 1960, was larger than January, 1962," as far as total number of employed people is concerned, said Curtis. He added: "There is no excuse for the President, in his message last night, to ignore this."

• In pointing to one of his charts, Kennedy said: "... corporate profits after taxes since January, 1961, have gone up \$10 billion." A look at his chart would have shown the President that these were profits *before* taxes, a far different matter.

Capitol Camera: What impressed the filibustered Senate—and what may impress Oregon voters—was a quote from a speech by Senator Wayne Morse given in St. Louis (St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, May 6, 1946) on May 5, 1946, in which he said: "The fundamental trick of the obstructionist is the filibuster, which the public must learn is not funny, but a disgraceful and contemptible procedure."

• *The stock of Eddie McCormack, now pitted against Ted Kennedy in Massachusetts, rose perceptibly after his recent visit to Washington ("a master stroke" say his admirers). Reason: His testimony on the Hill against the wire-tapping bill. That's good campaign fodder in the Bay State, for the Democratic ward heelers don't like wire-tapping; it threatens the secretiveness they inherited from their Fenian ancestors. They blame Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who pushes the legislation.*

• GOP National Chairman William E. Miller told a party audience in Chicago last week that the religious issue cost the Republicans votes in the 1960 election and that the Kennedy campaigners "used the religious issue in reverse." A Roman Catholic himself, Miller said the Democrats distributed pamphlets during the '60 campaign which indicated that anyone who voted against Kennedy was a bigot. Miller did not say so, but it is known that the GOP National Committee in recent months has received many reports of a "back to the GOP" movement among Catholics who voted for Kennedy.

• *Despite last week's cloture, the filibuster notion will not die down. Now there's an idea in the Senate*

cloakrooms among conservatives: Why not filibuster to cut down some of the wild spending appropriations bills soon to be in the works in the Senate? "What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." Besides, clearly what the public wants most is a cut in expenditures; therefore, this would prove a popular filibuster. It is known that Southern conservative Senators have offered their advice and collaboration to Northern Republicans, if they make the effort.

• Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg "displayed some personal pique at high labor costs," says *Business Week* (July 28). "During discussions of the construction strike, he showed a bill from union painters for painting the interior of his modest home in northwest Washington. Cost: \$2900."

• *Communist police were forced to hurl tear gas grenades into crowds of West Berliners demonstrating on the first anniversary of the Berlin Wall. But while Communist police vainly attempted to quell the enraged free Germans, Secretary of State Dean Rusk celebrated the anniversary, it was reported, by "chit-chatting" with the Soviet Ambassador.*

• Pierre Salinger (White House press chief) has reportedly been spreading an alibi for the President's failure to get his program through Congress. It is that Senate Leader Mike Mansfield and House Speaker John McCormack fell down on their jobs to push over said program; that Kennedy misses the twain's predecessors Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn. Not so, say Capitol Hill observers. The present leaders are as good, maybe better, at their jobs than Lyndon and Mr. Sam.

The fault lies with JFK. The leaders know what the grass roots wants and bend to winds from that area. Besides, neither of the leaders (especially McCormack) ever liked JFK. They (and that goes for the powerful committee chairmen) found him supercilious and objectionable when he served in Congress. (The story goes that when JFK was a member of the House of Representatives he never called on Speaker Rayburn.)

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

It would be a bad mistake to balance the Federal budget every year.

—US Budget Director David E. Bell, May, 1962.

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August 25, 1962

New Frontier Ins and Outs

By Representative Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr. (R.-N. J.)

On the New Frontier you are either in or out.

Some of the people who are in are Robert Frost, Pablo Casals and Harry Truman. Roger Blough was out but he is now in. Senator Smathers was in but he may now be out. Bobby is so in he is way out. Teddy will soon be in, they hope.

Pool parties in Bobby's backyard are in, as are many of the guests. Harvard professors are in. Princeton professors are out. MIT, Minnesota and Dartmouth are in. Rutgers, Columbia, Purdue and Cornell are out.

Twisting on the New Frontier is obviously in, the mashed potato is out. Antiques are in, modern out.

Everyone thinks the ADA is in but it is really out. Needless to say, the AMA is out.

The white tie is out. At the Justice Department shirt-sleeves are in.

Talk about the stock market is out. Africa is in. Spain is out. So are France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Peru. Italy is in. Chiang Kai-shek is so far out that he is in. The United Nations is in.

Chester Bowles was in. Now he is out.

Testifying before congressional committees is out.

Pat Brown thinks he is in. Secretary Freeman has a feeling he is out.

It is in to refer to the New Frontier hospitalization bill as medicare. No one knows yet whether a tax cut is in or out. It is out to watch the "Ev and Charlie Show." It is in to make fun of it.

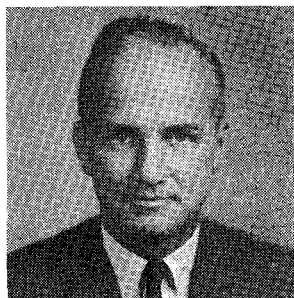
The Washington Post is so far in that it is almost out. The New York Herald Tribune is coming back in. To be mentioned in Reston's column is in but the New York Times may be on the way out.

Senators who want to be in are out. Only their votes are in. Southern Democrats are in. Doris Fleeson is out. Roscoe Drummond doesn't care whether he is in or out, so he is in.

Drew Pearson is out. But a Drew Pearson column is in.

Membership in the Metropolitan Club is out. The Capitol Hill Club can never be in. Neither can Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater or Nelson Rockefeller.

To be seen with one of the astronauts is in. Traveling with JFK on the Presidential plane, the Caroline, is in. It is better than a junket.



FRELINGHUYSEN

Nehru is in. Souvanna Phouma is in. So are two-button suits.

Touch football is going out, but Bobby hasn't been told yet. Water skiing is in, for the summer. Golf is an enigma.

Lyndon Johnson is out. He always was.

Texas is out.

Billie Sol almost got in. Now even mention of him is out.

Remarking that the New Deal was grand is out.

The phrase "one-term" is out. Because of Adlai Stevenson, New York is out.

Newport, Hyannis Port, Squaw Island and Palm Beach are in. Glen Ora is going out fast. Pecos, Newark and Gettysburg are out.

The fireside chat is out. The press conference is in. Reporters are in. Publishers are out. No exceptions.

Television is out, except when JFK is on.

Sinatra is out for all time. Peter Lawford took care of that. Morton Downey may be taking his place.

Among Republicans it is fashionable to be out. Among Democrats it is fatal, unless they live south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Superpatriots are out.

Congress is out.

The watchword: Sophistication.

(With apologies to *The In and the Out Book*, Viking, 1959, which you should read. If it is not in, it ought to be.)

More Space, More Federal Jobs

From the Chicago Tribune

Federal employees in Washington now number more than 190,000 and are increasing at the rate of 2,000 a year or more. The other day a Presidential advisory committee came up with a solution to the problem of an expanding Federal bureaucracy: build more Federal office buildings in Washington.

The committee recommended that \$425 million be spent in the next 10 years to replace obsolete buildings and erect new ones to house the growing army of pay-rollers. For some unexplained reason, the five New Frontiersmen failed to offer the obvious solution; cut the Federal payroll and eliminate jobs. This would also cut down on the 36,565,000 square feet of office space presently occupied by Federal offices in the capital. The objection, we suppose, is that this would save money, not spend it.

Farm Bureaucracy: Was Griffin So Wrong?

From the Washington Daily News

They laughed when Representative Robert P. Griffin of Michigan got up recently to offer his amendment providing that "employees of the Agriculture Department shall at no time exceed the number of farmers in America."

They thought Mr. Griffin was just having his sly little joke at the expense of the Administration's hard-luck farm bill.

Maybe so. Probably it couldn't happen, but it could come close enough for discomfort and already has. And recent emphasis on the "cliches of our forefathers" prompts the reminder that statesmen have been working on the problem for a long time.

One such was Kublai, Great Khan of China. He invented paper money and when he ran out he just printed more thus proving that, as an economist, he was way ahead of his times. His method of storing surplus grain first was reported to the Western world, about 750 years ago, by Marco Polo, Venetian businessman.

Historian Harold Lamb records in his *March of the Barbarians* that Kublai, observing how deep the farmers had to scratch for a living, ordered his mandarins to get the economy moving.

Later, seeing little change, he asked why, when the peasants worked so constantly and were given so much aid by the state, they remained so poor.

"Because the state," the mandarins answered, "encouraging the workers in the soil, draws its chief wealth from them. The laborers themselves have little left because the greater part of their earnings goes to pay overseers and taxes, with the cost of collecting the taxes."

That is the historic problem of government help to industry. It tends to cost more than it brings home and only the well-off can afford it.

At last count there were 98,500 employees in the Agriculture Department. That is roughly one government helper for each 37½ of our 3.7 million farms. Or one for each 70 of our 7 million farmers, counting family and hired hands. The Department of Agriculture has \$5.8 billion in the budget for next year.

Farmers are moving to the city while the government is continuing to hire. On the charts of the economists one curve is ascending, the other descending. These unparallel lines could meet somewhere short of infinity.

Maybe Representative Griffin's amendment isn't so funny at that. Maybe he's not, as they say in the larger towns of the corn-hog country, just bumping his gums.

When Welfare's a Free Ride

From the Chicago Daily News

In the furor over trimming Illinois relief costs, two counterpoised principles ought to serve as guidelines.

The first is society's obligation to care for those unfortunate citizens who cannot care for themselves. The second, well expressed by Governor Kerner, is that welfare should not reach the point where a family can get more money by not working than by working.

We know of no one who would deny the first principle, even though there is some dispute as to how it can best be accomplished. But there are indications that the second is being breached regularly.

The Illinois Public Aid Commission reported that 25 families are receiving regular grants of \$500 a month or more under the Aid to Dependent Children program. Grants of \$300 a month or more go to 3,337 families.

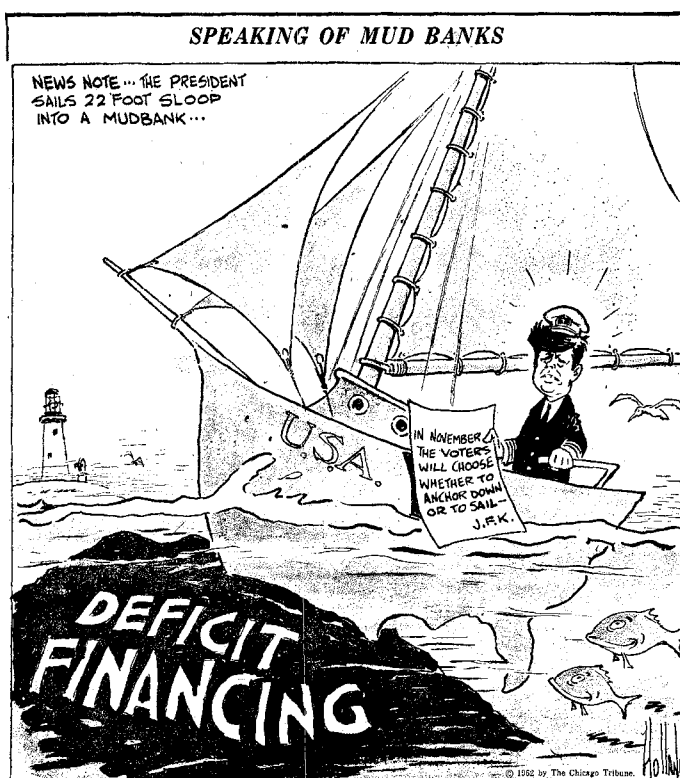
Our Springfield correspondent, Henry Hanson, promptly found a statehouse janitor who takes home \$297.50 a month. If he quit and went on relief he would be eligible, with his wife and six children, for more than \$300 a month. Similar cases would not be hard to find.

The system is clearly out of kilter when welfare offers greater inducements than employment. How many people, given the option of hard work or a free ride at the same money level, will choose to work?

A few will, and we take off our hats to the statehouse janitor, William J. Mallory, and all others like him. But most of us, we fear, require some incentive to work, either in the form of opportunity for higher pay or fear of the consequences of sloth.

If overgenerous welfare is robbing a portion of our people of all incentive, which seems to be the case, we surely are doing the recipients no favor in the long run. The habit of a free ride is mighty easy to get into, but mighty hard to shake.

OUR FREE ECONOMY—"The American economy is based on freedom, on the least possible interference by the government, upon open competition within the law, and it would be no myth but a nightmare if anyone tried to change this most essential characteristic of our nation." (Senator John M. Butler, Maryland Republican)



Everything—But at a Price

By PAUL HARVEY

I KNOW OF AN ISLAND in the sun where a man can get away from it all. An island where the trade winds are soft and warm most of the year. Shelters, already prepared, are adequate for comfort during the rainy season.

The Spanish who first dropped anchor on the windward side called it "Isle of the Pelicans."

Americans may now go there, take up residence. If you apply properly, and if you intend to make the island your permanent home, our government will provide transportation free.

It used to be that a man dreamed of faraway islands because the seas seemed to separate him from whatever it was he wanted to leave behind.

In an era of jet travel, Samoa and the Fijis are no more remote than the Caribbean. So it makes no sense to go to the other side of the world if there is a similar environment available in a handier hemisphere.

Actually, this island of which I speak is close enough to afford a view of the mainland of the United States; majestic by day, jeweled by night.

The island has 336 permanent guest rooms with running water, toilet facilities, comfortable beds—rent free!

On this island in the sun you may work if you like. You may do absolutely nothing if you prefer. There is enough food. Not fancy, but wholesome and nourishing and adequate.

Drinking water is a problem on some islands; not on this one. The water is pure. The guest rooms are wired for electricity, and this utility is also free to all islanders.

There are garden plots on which you can grow vegetables, flowers.

There is a library filled with 15,000 volumes, more than you could read in a lifetime. These, too, are available to you free.

The mail boat arrives and departs on a reasonably regular schedule so that you can share your island adventure with friends and relatives back in the turbulence and traffic and ferment of the States. The boat also periodically brings such fruits and vegetables as are not native to the island.

The view in all directions is enough to inspire the least artistic to try.

Sun-drenched days and star-studded nights and the fellowship of persons of similar tastes make this island an ideal retreat for the hurried, harried ulcer candidate.

There are none of the customary tropical diseases on the island, no poisonous snakes, few insects.

The 12-acre island is small enough to be "cozy," yet large enough so that you can stretch your legs for a vigorous hike. There is space provided for community athletic events, if you are so inclined.

There is free medical care if you get ill, free nursing care when you get old.

All the things Americans have been voting for are available on this island . . . free.

It will cost you no money to live there forever.

It will cost you only your freedom. Nothing more. You need give up only your freedom.

Everything else is free . . .

On Alcatraz.

* * *

ALL FEMALES in the United States between the ages of 16 and 60 will report immediately for work assignments.

"Mothers will deliver their babies to the Government Nursery Ministry and will deliver all minor children to the local office of the Youth Corps.

"Women will be assigned work in the mills or in the mines at the discretion of the Government.

"Those failing to report and register at once will be apprehended on a sight-warrant and sentenced to involuntary labor camps in Siberia."

No, it has not happened here. Yet.

But this is Soviet policy in each satellite and this is Khrushchev's plan for the United States.

And if he makes good his vulgar boast—if he wins this economic cold war—American women especially are going to wish they'd talked some sense into their men before it was too late.

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THE OLD GREY MARE



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RACES

of the Week

By WILLIAM SCHULZ

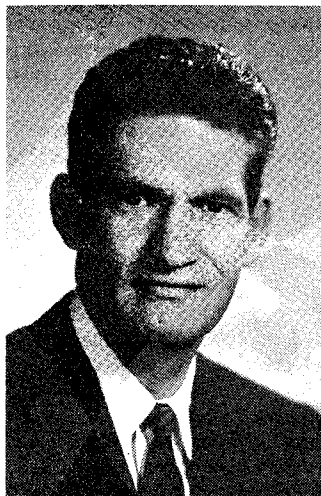
Idaho Senate Contest

Hawley vs. Church

IT WAS LITTLE MORE than two years ago that a baby-faced young Senator graced the front pages of newspapers across the land. Frank Forrester Church, at 36 the youngest man ever to keynote a major party convention, was seriously considered for Vice President of the United States.

Precious little is heard from Frank Church these days. He is to be found on many days not in Washington, but the tiny towns of Idaho, fighting desperately to hold the Senate seat he won six years ago. The little hamlet of Green Creek, Idaho (population 100), is placed on few maps. It was there, seeking votes, that Frank Church spent his Fourth of July. Before the campaign is over, he expects to visit Rupert and Rexburg, Nampa and Profino, Jerome and Buhl.

For Church does not underestimate the threat to him posed by a 42-year-old Boise lawyer named Jack Hawley. It was ten years ago that Frank Church first wet his political toes, running for the State Legislature from Ada County.



HAWLEY

His 1952 GOP opponent, Jack Hawley. Candidate Church topped the Democratic ticket but it was not enough. Hawley won election by 2-1, leading Church by some 12,000 votes. Four years later, Church took on Republican Senator Herman Welker and won, thanks to an inept performance by the incumbent.

Fresh from a stint as Chairman of the Idaho Young Democrats, Church came to Washington where he soon justified the faith that Reuther and company had placed in him. Paying back the barons of big labor, Church quickly learned to parrot the COPE line.

In his first five years, Church cast 33 key votes, 30 of them considered by COPE as "pro-labor." He has regularly voted for Federal power, aid to education, public housing and pork-barrel spending. He voted against the McClellan Bill of Rights for union members.

The Americans for Constitutional Action rate his Senate voting record as eight per cent "conservative." The Americans for Democratic Action say that he is "liberally oriented" 100 per cent of the time.

CAMPAIGNING HARD across the rocky terrain of his state, Republican Hawley takes Church to task for his subservience to the field generals of the Kennedy Administration.

"The New Frontier is not too popular out here on the Real Frontier," he says. "The Senator has been little more than a messenger boy for the last two years."

Traveling through his state, Church finds severe economic conditions. Unemployment is high; the mining and lumber industries are depressed.

Idaho voters have yet to send a Democrat to the US Senate for a second term. Republicans think they have an excellent opportunity to pick up Church's seat. Their party is unusually well unified. Democrats have squabbled badly. Their gubernatorial candidate, Vernon K. Smith, has come out for legalized gambling. Running-mate Church refuses to say whether or not he agrees.

This article is the fifth in a special series, Races of the Week, a HUMAN EVENTS pre-election feature. For each week until Election Day, November 6, HUMAN EVENTS will offer a detailed analysis of key election contests from coast to coast. Author of Races of the Week is Washington correspondent William Schulz, who has written extensively for HUMAN EVENTS in the past.

Illinois' 11th District

Hyde vs. Pucinski

WLADISLAW GOMULKA and Josip Tito were not the only world leaders to wince earlier this year when US Senators voted to end foreign aid for Poland and Yugoslavia.

So did John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Hours after the Senate vote, plans had been laid for its reverse in the House. Mapping strategy for the campaign: Lawrence O'Brien, John McCormack and Carl Albert.

They agreed early that a tall, dark-haired, hawk-nosed Chicago Democrat would play a major role in the floor fight that was soon to break out. And that Roman Pucinski did.

The Illinois Congressman delivered a lengthy, impassioned speech for aid to Tito and Gomulka. They were, he conceded, "scummy Communists," but further aid could facilitate their independence from the Kremlin.

A number of wavering Congressmen were known to have gone along with the Administration after hearing Pucinski. The Chicago Democrat represents a district that is heavily populated with Poles and Yugoslavs, bitter anti-Communists.

That Pucinski echoed the Administration line surprised no one. He has the dubious distinction—shared by only four other Congressmen—of never having deserted the Administration during 1961.

The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* shows only five Democrats have racked up a "100 per cent partisan voting record." Pucinski is one.

THE ILLINOIS DEMOCRAT rates 100 per cent on other scorecards as well. One of these is the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education's, which has reviewed Pucinski's career since he came to Congress in January, 1959. In one-and-a-half terms, Pucinski cast 20 key votes—on union reform, aid to education, depressed areas, public housing, Federal power and minimum wage. All 20 are classified as "pro-Labor."

His Americans for Democratic Action score: 100 per cent—Americans for Constitutional Action score: 2 per cent.

Pucinski faces a strong challenge from Republican Henry Hyde, who calls foreign policy and red-ink financing the key issues of this contest. He says:



HYDE

"Pucinski campaigned in 1960 on a platform that included a plank to reduce the national debt. He has consistently supported bills to increase the debt limit, however."

Hyde, a 38-year-old lawyer and veteran of the South Pacific, is making his first run for office. In campaign travels through the North Side of Chicago, Hyde discovered great unrest with Democratic spending policies—in Cook County and Washington.

Pucinski comes under attack for his support of the Administration's dividend withholding tax. He is hit, too, for backing the Kennedy-Freeman farm bill—a bill, says Hyde, "that could only result in higher prices for the consumer."

Illinois' 11th District, a new one, is considered "marginal." The Legislature added several Republican areas—including the 47th Ward—to Pucinski's old district, giving Hyde an excellent chance for victory.

The New Frontier vs. Valentine Byler

Big Government Seeks Social Security Taxes from the Amish

By THEODORE L. HUMES

IN THE LONG HISTORY of Pennsylvania there is no greater tradition of a people for the rapidly disappearing virtues of personal responsibility, self-discipline and obedience to the customs and religious tenets of their faith than the Amish. They are gentle and industrious farmers.

As a late 17th-Century offshot of the Mennonities, the Amish took their name from Jacob Amman of Switzerland. He was the epitome of conservatism. The Amish have a loftiness which is spread from deep roots as they desperately struggle to retain their cultural and spiritual traditions amid the eddying pace of the New Order.

Stubbornly refusing any special dispensations from without their own communities, they have come to be regarded as so many manipulable dots in the blueprints of our social engineers.

The Amish regard very highly the customs and beliefs of their forefathers. This explains why they have clung to the manner of worship, styles of dress and traditions of centuries past. According to them, the greatest wisdom consists of shunning the ways of the world and of loving God. To seek wealth and to rely upon it is worldly.

When oil was discovered on Amish farms in Kansas a few years ago, they sold their farms and moved out of the state. To pursue honors or high dignity and to "raise oneself" through fashionable dress, education, office-holding or any other way is "worldly." To provide adequate sustenance for the family is necessary, but luxuries and superfluities and lustful appetites the Amishman regards as harmful to the soul.

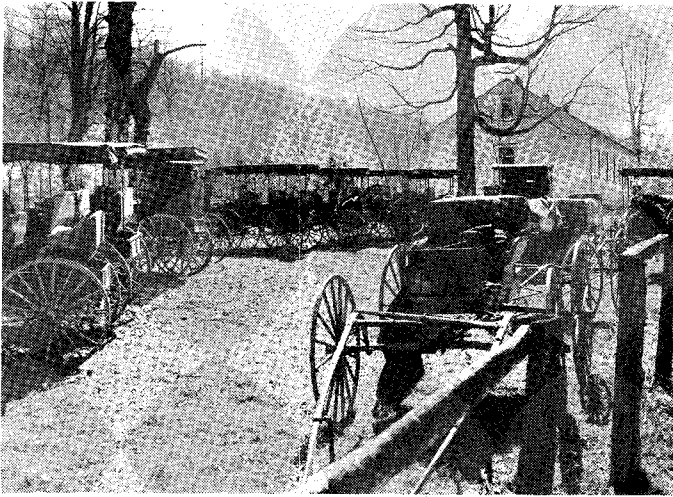
They would agree with the 14th-Century monk Thomas á Kempis that a poor peasant who serves God is better than a proud philosopher. They possess what T. S. Eliot said of Blake: "a peculiar honesty which, in a world too frightened to be honest, is peculiarly terrifying."

THREE GREAT VALUES are cherished by the Amish people: a devout religion, an agrarian way of life and a cohesive family and community. They give no quarter to the modern world. While they reject modern machinery and equipment for implements which by today's standards would be considered primitive, they are excellent farmers who provide a decent living for their families. In times of stress and disaster they respond generously with assistance to their less fortunate neighbors *and* outsiders.



AMISH DELEGATION IN WASHINGTON—Members of an Amish delegation talk outside the headquarters of the Internal Revenue Service in Washington, D.C., after a meeting with IRS Commissioner Mortimer Caplin, September 12,

1961. The Amish group—from Pennsylvania and Ohio—and Caplin talked about social security taxes which members of the religious sect are reluctant to pay.



CHURCH-GOING TIME—Pictured are wagons of Amish families attending church services at Summit Mills, Pennsylvania. (Photo by Bowen Studio, Somerset, Pa.)

There are no "ADC" cases* among their numbers, no "juvenile delinquents," or "dropouts." Crime is unknown unless one can call their tenacious resistance to government collectivization a crime.

The Amish family is a strong social unit, notable for its stability and the contentment of its members. Children are wanted. Homes are effective teaching agencies. The meaning of hard work and cooperation is learned early in life. The Amish prefer to own and maintain their own schools at no cost to the state, scorning "Deweyism" and "life adjustment" despite constant harassment from the progressive educational hierarchy which demands an immediate integration into campus-type high schools "for their own good."

Two years ago a contingent of Amish in Eastern Pennsylvania was singled out by bureaucrats and academic do-gooders, who insisted upon mandatory integration of Amish school children with the nearby public high school system—complete with snack bars and student parking lots.

Amish parents want their children to acquire the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Their children usually attend the public elementary schools, and Amishmen have sometimes served on school boards. But they contend that after completing the elementary grades their youth should get practical experience in farming and home management rather than theoretical subjects in the schools.

In speaking of higher education, one Amishman said, "Education is all right for some people but not for our kind of people." Another said, "Education does not build muscle like tilling the soil in the open field and sunshine."

To a man the Amish elders refused to yield their children to the schools. They believed that the unavoidable consequences of such progressive school sterilization would mean the gradual dilution of the Amish social and religious order and an erosion of respect for the enduring principles of their traditions.

The leaders of the community who defied the government's school ultimatum were promptly jailed. They were released only when it became apparent that the great weight of public opinion was repelled by these actions. A tenuous armistice has existed since, with Amish children continuing to occupy their own schools subject to academic mandates issuing from the state.

* Federal aid to dependent children.

Amish parents are undoubtedly right in sensing the potential danger of the modern high school to their community life. Their children would probably no longer want to be either farmers or Amish should they attend. Sociologists have pointed out that the high school, even in the rural setting, is essentially a leveler of rural and urban culture. The Amish want at all costs to conserve an agricultural way of life with its traditional values.

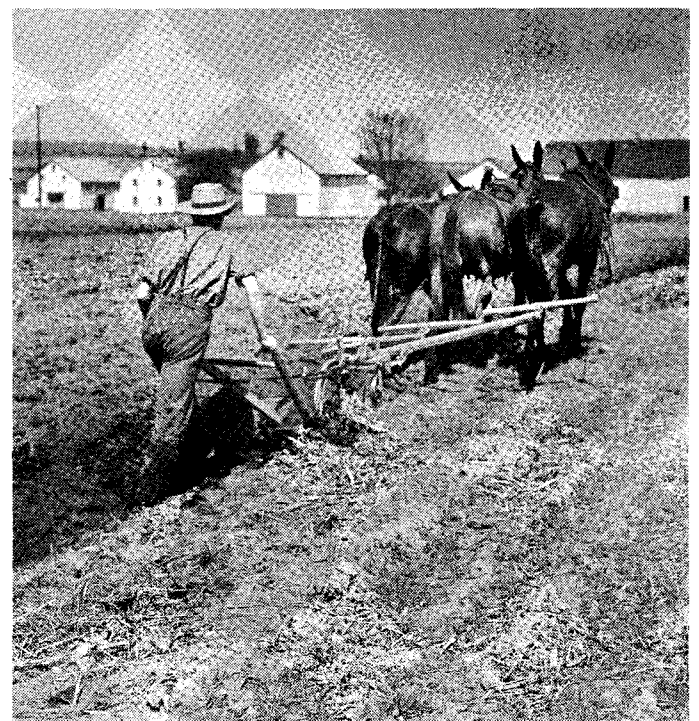
This is but one example of the relentless pressure by all levels of government to compel them to abandon their heritage and become integrated into the gray, treacherous mass of complacent middle-of-the-road socialism.

SUCH AN AMISH community of about 250 families has been part of the northwest Pennsylvania scene for over a century. Located in the industrial heartland of America, midway between Pittsburgh and Cleveland, this cluster of Amish is a familiar sight to any traveler who drives on superhighways while horse-drawn carts of austere-garbed families jog slowly alongside on special off-highway lanes reserved for them.

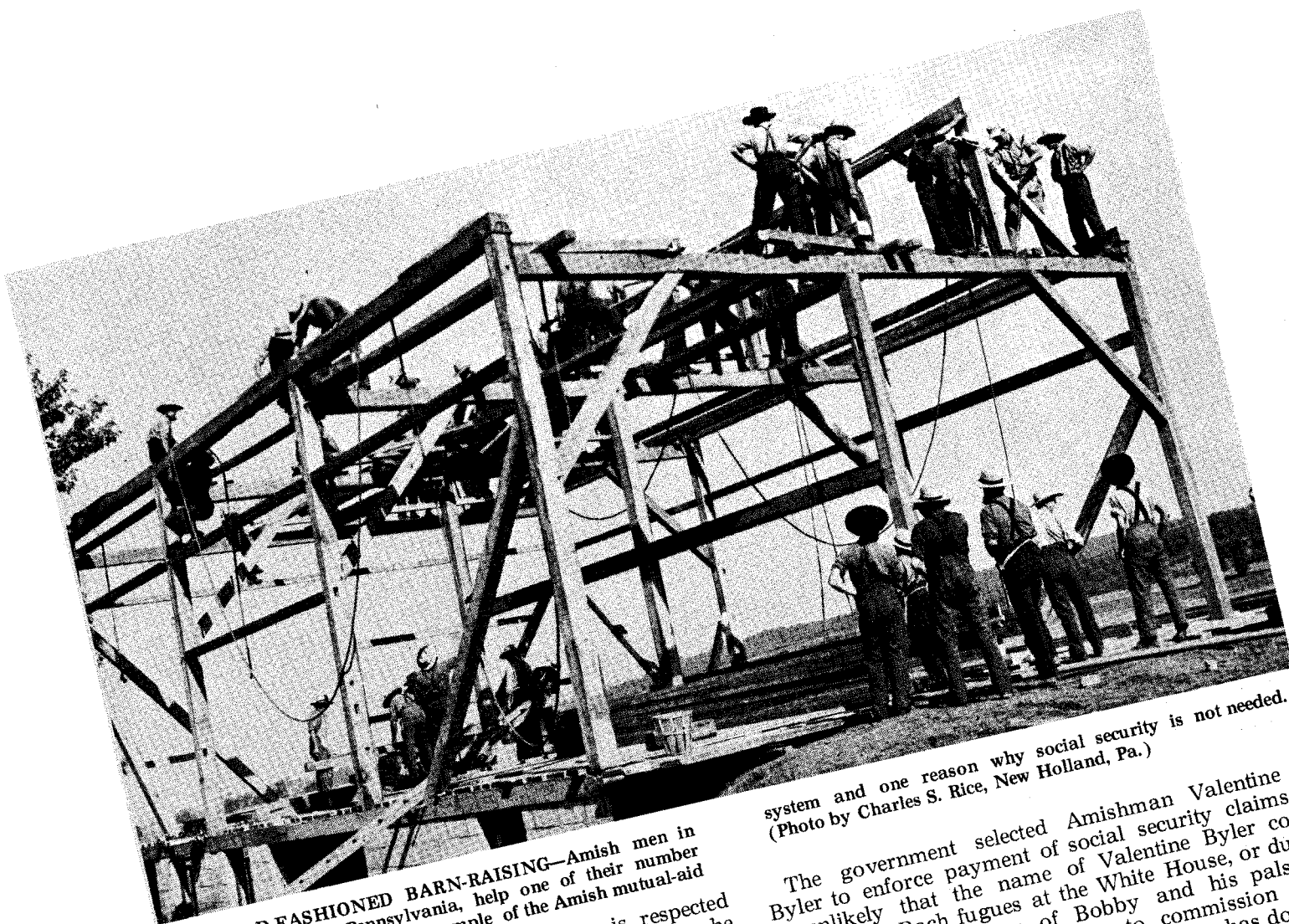
As the Social Security Administration's program expanded and welfare-minded (and vote-conscious) politicians sought to insure the "Good Life" for all, these people were dragged into the program in 1955 under an amendment covering self-employed farmers. This was enacted with complete disregard for the religious tenets which contravene social security objectives.

Among other things the Amish maintain a somewhat archaic belief that they alone are responsible for the care and maintenance of their sick and aged without recourse to any government instrumentality. The scriptural basis for their position is found in the 19th and 20th verses of the sixth chapter of Matthew:

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven . . ."



OLD FARM METHODS—An Amish farmer in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, does his plowing with one of the old-fashioned, horse-drawn implements still used by the Amish. (Photo by Charles S. Rice, New Holland, Pa.)



AN OLD-FASHIONED BARN-RAISING—Amish men in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, help one of their number frame a barn. It is an example of the Amish mutual-aid

In the Amish community, Grandfather is respected as a patriarch and his social status increases as he reaches retirement age. He would be insulted by old-age pension checks. To retire he simply moves in the *grossdawdy* (grandfather) house, and the younger generation takes over. He shuns commercial forms of insurance, for in his judgment he already has the best kind of insurance. He has no premiums to pay. If a barn burns down, the neighbors are there to help him build a new one. If he becomes ill, they do his work. Should he die suddenly, they make arrangements to have the farm operations continue.

Amish mutual aid provides "social security" for its members from birth to death. Security comes from friendly personal relations, from father and mother, brother and sister, uncle and aunt, and church members. Not from impersonal and remote sources, such as investment bonds, state security or welfare boards.

UNFORTUNATELY, the Amish cannot afford high-priced Washington lobbyists to represent them in legislative proceedings where their religious beliefs are affected. Testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee, the Amish said, "Old-age survivors insurance is abridging and infringing to our religious freedom. Our faith has always been sufficient to meet the needs as they come."

They believe as the Bible says, "But if any provide not . . . for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel" (1 Timothy 5:8). However, as more and more citizens are finding out, a necessary concomitant of the Planned Economy is naked compulsion followed by the whip for those recalcitrants who do not know what is best for them.

Therefore, in deference to their conscience, the Amish Bishops unanimously held that participation in social security would be contrary to their religious beliefs and advised their flock accordingly.

August 25, 1962

system and one reason why social security is not needed. (Photo by Charles S. Rice, New Holland, Pa.)

The government selected Amishman Valentine Y. Byler to enforce payment of social security claims. It is unlikely that the name of Valentine Byler comes up between Bach fugues at the White House, or during the pool-side dunkings of Bobby and his pals; the Ford Foundation is unlikely to commission Marc Blitzstein to glorify him in opera as it has done for Sacco and Vanzetti; and neither Carl Sandburg nor Robert Frost will honor him in verse.

Mr. Byler's tribulations began in June, 1960. While working on a half-loaded hay wagon with a threatening rain coming, he was approached by two agents of the Internal Revenue Service, one of whom was John Binger, district director of the Pittsburgh region. Mr. Byler refused to come off the wagon and was handed a paper, which he jammed into his pocket, and continued to work. "They called me 'mean' and 'contemptible,'" said Mr. Byler, "and they have been riding me hard ever since." Two months later Mr. Byler was arraigned in Federal District Court in Pittsburgh before Federal Judge Wallace S. Gourley.

A man of unaffected piety, Mr. Byler stood before the bar, black wide-brimmed hat in hand, apprehensive in his severe home-made garb. The sight of Valentine Byler at first produced a profound silence. An embarrassed Judge Gourley demanded to know the charges. Upon learning that the indictment was based upon refusal to pay social security levies because of Amish religious beliefs, Judge Gourley angrily reprimanded the Internal Revenue agents "for bringing in a poor farmer who didn't have any money. Why don't you bring in some rich ones?" thundered Judge Gourley.

AFTER EXTRACTING a promise from Byler that he would let the judge know if any liens or other legal actions were taken, Judge Gourley gave Byler money out of his own pocket to help pay his return fare.

Nothing further happened until December, 1960, when Byler received word from Pittsburgh that he was to stand trial on January 9, 1961. Alarmed over this turn of events and unable to comprehend the meaning of the legal papers he received, Mr. Byler recalled his promise to Judge Gourley and promptly returned to Pittsburgh where he learned that a petition had been granted in Washington dismissing the action. The trial was never held.

Even whilst President Kennedy was moving into office, votaries of the New Frontier, impatient of tedious forms via judicial proceedings, took steps to bring Mr. Byler to heel. Because he was "one of the more aggressive and uncooperative taxpayers," a civil judgment was obtained, and Valentine Byler was ordered to deliver his work horses at auction to satisfy a lien of \$308 for back social security payments.

On April 18, 1961, an auction was held at New Castle, Pennsylvania. Nobody attended save a horse dealer from Youngstown, Ohio. The horses were sold for \$460, the exact figure needed to cover the liens plus the expense of hauling and feeding the animals and the cost of advertising. In typical Amish fashion, other members of the community promptly gave Mr. Byler additional horses from their own stock so he could complete his spring plowing.

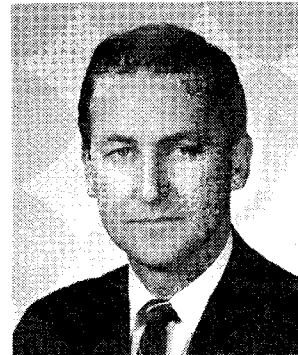
It is interesting to note that during Mr. Byler's difficulties the American Civil Liberties Union in Pittsburgh was busy leveling denunciations of "McCarthyism" at critics of a University of Pittsburgh history professor. A member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and an Abraham Lincoln Brigade veteran, the professor was pushing the Castro "agrarian reform" line. The ACLU had no time to make an investigation of the Amish plight then, nor has it done so since, preferring instead to help "implement" the Supreme Court's edict on separation of God and state.

No ministerial or professional resolutions were forthcoming supporting Byler's stand, nor were there any student manifestations in his behalf such as accompanied the "freedom riders" or the execution of a convicted rapist and murderer.

Last month, the Senate approved a resolution offered jointly by Senators Barry M. Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) and Joseph S. Clark (D.-Pa.) which would have exempted the Amish from social security levies. The measure was incorporated into the Administration's 1962 welfare bill—the same vehicle from which the Senate threw off the medicare "rider." The amendment was later stricken from the conference report. Thus, Valentine Byler's difficulties with the Federal government appear

The Author

Mr. Humes is a research economist in private industry and lecturer in economics at Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pennsylvania. Among his recent contributions to HUMAN EVENTS: "Requiem for a City: The Steel Capital in Crisis," April 28, 1962, and "Self-Reliance and Pennsylvania Politics," January 20, 1962.



to be only the first of many such cases involving the Amish with onerous Federal bureaucracy.

THE AMISH in the area have called Lawrence County their home for over a hundred years. Each community is relatively isolated, yet all are models of self-government, rectitude and puritan honesty. The Amish have a strong attachment to the soil and to the Bible. Their neighborliness, self-control, good will and thrift contribute immeasurably to the foundations of our civilization. They have no ambitions to possess the world or to convert it. There will always be enough politicians, policemen and military personnel, they contend; but candidates for the Biblical way of life which nonresistant Christians alone can fulfill are altogether too few.

Now they are presented with a choice of compliance with a law which is contrary to their basic beliefs, or of migrating to another country. Already some of their kin from the Holmes, Ohio, region have left for Canada.

True to their code, they look to the Bible for guidance. "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" is accepted by them, and they say, "if this is a tax we'll pay it." On the other hand, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth" also has a literal meaning for them. Their strict interpretation of this injunction includes insurance of any kind, particularly old-age insurance. Indeed, Mr. Byler himself has steadfastly refused donations of any kind to help his cause based upon the same Biblical provisions.

Knowing of their strong religious convictions and impeccable honesty, talk of leaving their homes of generations is no idle opinion. They have been formally invited to settle in Australia and are also considering Canada as a refuge from the philosophy of Welfarism and New Frontierism.

As long as Washington's welfare state activities and bureaus proliferate, as they are doing, as long as America continues to toss billions around abroad like a farmer slopping hogs, the government will continue to harass the Bylers—violating their religion—selling their work horses if necessary for \$460—to feed voluptuous indulgence.

The goal of utopianism in America, nurtured by insatiable powers of taxation, brings closer and closer to realization deTocqueville's prophetic observation concerning welfare of a century ago: "It provides for their security, foresees and supplies their necessities, manages their principal concerns, directs their industry, regulates the descent of property and subdivides their inheritances—what remains but to spare them all the care of thinking, and all the trouble of living?"

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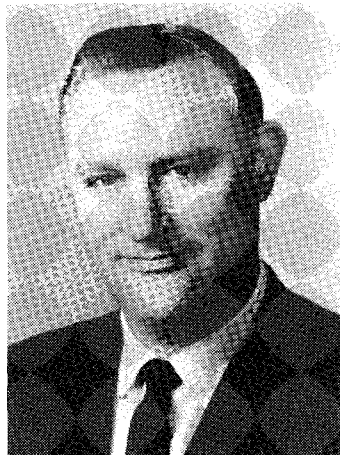
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New Frontier Election Threats

Key Kennedy Aides Use US Defense Facilities to Collar Votes



REPRESENTATIVE KYL

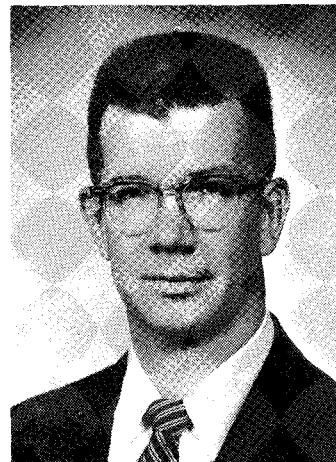
South Carolina and Iowa are two current examples of the bold way in which the Kennedy Administration is using the spending power of the Federal government to promote the election of JFK-favored candidates.

Similar events are taking place in all parts of the United States.

The South Carolina case results from the deep fear within the Administration that liberal Democrat Olin D. Johnston, first elected to the Senate in 1944, is about to lose his seat to Republican nominee William D. Workman, whose drive for election has made him a strong favorite.

The Iowa case is an effort to supplant conservative Republican Representative John Kyl (his 1961 ACA rating: 90) with a docile, liberal Democrat, Gene Glenn, who is promising all-out support to JFK.

The two stories follow:



CANDIDATE WORKMAN

In Iowa

Vote Democratic — Or Else !

—OTTUMWA, Iowa

A TAPED CONVERSATION between two Iowans in Washington, D. C., is expected to play an important role in the race this fall for Iowa's 4th District seat in Congress.

The incumbent is 43-year-old John Kyl of Bloomfield, a small town south of Ottumwa. Elected to the House in December, 1959, to fill a vacancy, Kyl was returned to office with a 15,000-vote majority in 1960. He is a Republican and he votes conservative.

Democrats would like to defeat him this fall. They regard this as possible because a Democrat was elected to Kyl's seat in 1958, and in 1956 the district went Republican by only 1,600 votes.

Kyl, a native of Nebraska with a background in education, retailing and radio broadcasting, was given a rating of 90 per cent by the conservative Americans for Democratic Action for his voting record in 1961.

Principals in the now-famous conversation were Gene Glenn, Kyl's Democratic opponent, and Edward A. McDermott, a prominent Dubuque attorney.

McDermott, who nurses state-wide political ambitions, was appointed to the New Frontier team last year as deputy director of the Defense Department's Office of Emergency Planning. Until a Kennedy Administration reorganization scheme was adopted, the agency was known as the Federal Civil Defense Administration. McDermott recently moved up to the top spot.

Glenn, in Washington recently to attend the Democratic National Committee's candidates' school, interviewed McDermott and had the tape recording broadcast over radio stations in the 4th District.

(continued on next page)

In South Carolina

The 'Closed' Base Reopens

—COLUMBIA, South Carolina

TOLD BY THE PRESIDENT to cut costs, Air Force Secretary Eugene Zuckert ordered a sweeping investigation of Air Force facilities and concluded that many air bases, including Donaldson Air Force Base near Greenville, South Carolina, were not needed.

So, Zuckert on July 18 announced that Donaldson would be closed within a year. The 63rd Troop Carrier Wing, stationed there, would be moved to Hunter Air Force Base near Savannah, Georgia.

A week later, Zuckert's orders were reversed by John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

How did it happen?

Immediately after the announcement to close the base, South Carolina businessmen contacted Senator Olin D. Johnston—who is up for re-election this fall.

The sprawling Air Force Base has an annual payroll of more than \$18 million. Businessmen hated to see it vacated.

Johnston, who faces a tough election challenge from Republican William D. Workman, rushed to the White House. His accomplishment is told in newspaper headlines:

Early editions, July 25:

JOHNSTON, JFK TALK ABOUT BASE

Later editions, July 25:

KENNEDY HALTS DONALDSON CLOSING

Says a South Carolina Democrat who had long fought to save Donaldson:

(continued on next page)

Iowa

(continued from preceding page)

AT ONE POINT in the discussion, McDermott mentioned a defense installation which Ottumwans were informed some time ago would be built in this south central Iowa region. "I think the election of a Democratic candidate to the Congress of the United States from the 4th District would be a contribution to the possibilities of locating such a site there," McDermott told Glenn.

McDermott's remark, far from being welcomed, set off a storm of protest in this city of 34,000 and throughout the district.

The facts about the base are these: It had been in the programming stage for three years by the US Air force. It was to be a tracking station for a secret weapons project. Actual construction had been delayed for technical and scientific reasons—not because 4th District voters made the mistake in 1960 of sending a Republican to Washington to represent them.

Kyl reacted sharply to McDermott's remark. "This irresponsible political statement, an obvious attempt to buy votes, and coming from an official of the government who has no connection with the project, suggests the most selfish kind of partisanship which places the [Democratic] party above the welfare of Iowa, the nation and our defense posture." In a letter to McDermott, Kyl asked these seven questions:

1. Has the policy enunciated or implied by you in this interview been approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense, or the President?
2. Will you give specific instances in which the present Administration has established or failed to establish military installations with consideration for partisan politics?
3. If the defense program of which the projected Ottumwa base is a part becomes operational, would you or the Administration interfere with the establishment of the Iowa base because a Republican serves that district in Congress?
4. If the Ottumwa base becomes operational would membership in the Democratic party be a requisite for civilian employment at the base?
5. Is it your opinion that a base would be constructed in Ottumwa for the incumbent congressman, or for the defense of the nation?
6. Has the Air Force ever consulted you for recommendations concerning the defense system involved in this discussion or the siting of the base in Ottumwa? [The Air Force, Kyl reports, answered "No" when the same query was directed to the Pentagon.]
7. Do the separate military branches alter military operations for domestic political reasons? If so, how? What officers are in charge?

Kyl was informed that McDermott was "on vacation" when no reply was forthcoming. The Iowa Congressman is still awaiting McDermott's answer.

"Under the original plan, the base would have become operational in mid-1962," Kyl says. "Failure to attain this goal has been caused by scientific factors which neither Mr. McDermott nor I understand."

But, adds Kyl: "It gave the Democrats a perfect opportunity to say, 'John just isn't working hard enough for the folks back home.' This just isn't so. We're up to date on this thing."

Kyl regards the McDermott-Glenn conversation as just another instance of Kennedy Administration attempts to purchase votes. "They do this thing all the time," he says.

South Carolina

(continued from preceding page)

"The move was completely political, but we're grateful nonetheless. Olin had taken no interest in this whole case until the base was ordered closed.

"He [Johnston] didn't even bother to come to the meeting in which Air Force officials told us that Donaldson would be shut down. But he is running scared now—and needs all the help he can get. The President really had no other choice than to go along—Olin was the only Deep South Democrat to vote 'aye' on medicare."

Now Democrats throughout the state are telling the voters:

"You see how vital it is to elect Johnston. He saved the Donaldson base. South Carolina has other government contracts at stake that could be pulled out if Workman, a Republican, is elected to the Senate. The Administration will be determined to prove, not only to South Carolina, but to other states, that JFK is not to be thwarted. He gets revenge.

"On the other hand, if South Carolina backs Johnston, our state, instead of losing defense contracts and installations, may be rewarded with more of them. This Kennedy crowd plays for keeps."

The GOP nominee, William D. Workman, issued this statement about the Johnston announcement:

"I am concerned whether this will be a permanent retention or one which has been drummed up as a political maneuver to gain favor for the present Administration on the part of the people of Greenville and to further the chances of the present Senator, who is a spokesman for the Administration."

Workman said he is "fearful that we will not know the real truth of the matter until after the November elections.

"And it is my hope that if this move is in good faith and is bona fide, it will be followed by a declaration that Donaldson Air Force Base will be made permanent on its own merits and without regard to any political consideration at all."

THE MOST INTERESTING part of the episode is that it is now far from certain that JFK has helped Johnston. A number of daily and weekly newspapers throughout the state, including several considered to be friendly to Johnston, have expressed deep indignation at what is an obvious attempt to bribe the voters.

Among South Carolina voters, "the Donaldson Fraud" has become the principal topic of the Workman-Johnston race. The Workman-For-Senate headquarters in the state capital, here, has been desperately short of cash. Now small contributions—\$1, \$5, and \$10—are flowing in from all parts of the state. The total is not impressive but the messages attached are heartening.

Wrote a widow sending \$1, who said her income was \$70 a month: "The 'Donaldson Fraud' is a test of South Carolina voters. I am telling all my neighbors we must prove our love of country by the way we vote in November. May God help us in our hour of peril."

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The Sickness of Socialized Medicine

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Reprinted with Permission from the August, 1962, *The Freeman*

IF YOU ARE AGAINST state-inflicted public health insurance, financed by a compulsory levy, it is enough in many quarters to mark you down as a moral monster. By implication it is assumed that your "negativism" means that you want poor people to suffer. But does a compulsory national health program, "free" to everybody out of taxes, actually result in a healthier society?

Since many foreign nations, from England and Germany in Europe to New Zealand in the Antipodes, have had 10, 20 and even 30 years of experience with their own versions of compulsory "medicare," there should be a definitive answer to this question.

Helmut Schoeck, a professor of sociology at Emory University in Georgia, has pinned down a vast number of pertinent facts in his symposium, *Financing Medical Care: An Appraisal of Foreign Programs* (Caxton, 318 pp., \$5.50). The testimony of Dr. Schoeck's many experts is that it is the general tendency of "government medicine" to inflate the cost of medical service without adding anything of value to the general level of health.

It may seem like the humanitarian thing to do to make medical service a "free good," like parks or streets or the water from the public drinking fountain at the corner. But actually everybody loses under most public health programs.

THE REASON, if we look at the experience of England, France, Germany, Sweden, Austria and New Zealand, is that people do not value what they presume they are getting for nothing. What results from public medicine is a big over-consumption of trivialities, with doctors at their wits' end to find time to spend on serious matters.

Speaking of compulsory medical "insurance" in Germany, Werner Schollgen remarks that personally "costless" access to doctors and medical supplies "encourages the waste of huge amounts of money and medical resources on minute and imaginary ailments. Consequently, it cannot really, in the long run, help individuals with prolonged and catastrophic illnesses."

Looking at the British experience, Colm Brogan discovers that the National Health Service which came out of the Beveridge plan "celebrated its tenth birthday without having built one single hospital throughout the length and breadth of Britain."

English girls, says surgeon Reginald S. Murley, decline to take up nursing because of the inadequacy of the hospitals under the compulsory health program. The deficiency is "somewhat concealed by the number of girls from Ireland and the Continent who come to Britain to nurse."

In Germany, "free" medical treatment is accepted with contempt by many people who, after taking the pills they get for "nothing," turn right around and

spend their own personal funds on the most arrant type of quack.

In Sweden, which adopted a compulsory health service in the 1950's, Alfred Zanker tells us that "the captive beneficiaries of compulsory health insurance . . . demand medical benefits far beyond what their specific contributions pay for." The general attitude is "I had to pay my share, now it is the state's turn to render any service I can think of."

"Overtreatment" and "multiple treatment" follow. With state "medicare" piled on top of other compulsory welfare expenditures in Sweden, "tax evasion has become a matter of economic survival."

The population is not noticeably healthier. And freedom from "material" cares has not made the Swedes any happier. "Sober statistics show that social ills have continued in the era of an ever more perfect welfare state. The crime rate, especially among the younger

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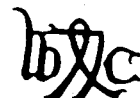
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generation, has reached frightening proportions. Widespread alcoholism has not been curtailed. The divorce rate has reached new heights, and despite generous state subsidies . . . the birth rate in Sweden has fallen back to its low level of the 1930's."

THIS SORT of quotation might be multiplied many times over from Dr. Schoeck's book. The reason for the degeneration of medicine when governments try to match free patients with "panel" doctors, or dictate arbitrary "fee schedules," or otherwise interfere with the market pricing of medical service, is that there is no accompanying way of instilling responsibility in either patient or physician.

As economist Dennis S. Lees says, the humanitarian cry for "adequacy" comes to mean anything we want it to mean. There is no way of deciding between the competing claims of "adequate" medicine and "adequate" public housing and "adequate" nationalized train service if marginal utility ideas are excluded. "We do not know," says Mr. Lees, "nor is anything built into the machinery of the public sector to tell us, whether production is optimal or not." Yet in a world of scarce goods—and medicine is still a scarce good—there must be some way of deciding where optimal as against "adequate" resources are to go. "Men and materials employed to build hospitals cannot at the same time be used to build schools and factories . . . Firms producing medical supplies cannot at the same time be producing export goods."

When doctors and hospitals and medical supply companies price their services, there is an automatic check on their indiscriminate use, and money is left for education and factory building.

Hardhearted? Well, if it were left at just that, it would be hardhearted. But doctors, from time immemorial, have not attempted to wring big fees from those who come to them asking for charitable care. The price system, which can provide for "optimal" discrimination, is compatible with voluntary relinquishment of time, energy and pills to the occasional patient who cannot pay for what he receives.

IN AMERICA, there is a tired feeling in many quarters that compulsory "medicare" is part of the inevitable "wave of the future." But "it ain't necessarily so." In both Switzerland and Australia, the voters have firmly rejected the demands of the Socialists that medicine be made a compulsory "free good" financed by taxes or social security levies.

The Swiss, in 1958, had 1,109 separate voluntary insurance plans recognized by the federal government, with a membership totaling 4,011,925. "Between 80 and 90 per cent of the Swiss people are members of such associations," says Marcel Grossmann.

The federal government in Switzerland does give some subsidy help to voluntary plans which meet formal requirements as non-profit mutual companies, but that is all. The insured have free choice of physicians, and the doctors set their own price on their services.

The Swiss are certainly as healthy as the Swedes or the English, and they are not afflicted with skyrocketing medical costs. Moreover, the traveler in Switzerland notes practically none of the social ills that afflict welfarist Sweden.

In Australia, where the Labor party ruled at the end of World War II, there was an assumption that the people would vote a National Health Service Act on the order of the British legislation. But, miracu-

lously as it must seem to us, the Australian Liberal party beat back the Laborite demand for a comprehensive compulsory system for supplying doctor's services, drugs, hospitalization and dental benefits.

When a Liberal government assumed office in 1949, a physician, Sir Earle Page, was appointed Minister of Health. Sir Earle helped put the Commonwealth government behind a subsidy of voluntary insurance societies which left the Australian equivalents of our own Blue Cross and Blue Shield to take care of their own members. Nobody in Australia is compelled to protect himself by insurance against the "hazards of living and dying," but the country is pretty well blanketed by the voluntary system.

The Australian Health Plan, says Sir Earle, "has started to pay for itself in shorter illnesses, less sickness, shorter hospitalization, with a consequent turnover of hospital beds and a saving of millions of hours of working time." And because there is no central administrative expense, "the government's paper work in connection with the Plan is carried on in Canberra, the national capital, by no more than 15 or 20 people. Everything else is handled—and well handled—by the insurance societies themselves, each of them dealing with its own subscribers."

ONE FEAR expressed by Dr. Schoeck and some of the contributors to his symposium is that when governments undertake to provide comprehensive state plans for compulsory medical insurance, the mounting costs will lead to regimented preventive medicine.

Dr. Schoeck raises by inference the Orwellian specter of compulsory setting-up exercises, compulsory fat-free diets, compulsory rationing of cigarettes and alcoholic beverages, and other such interferences with the ancient idea that a man's home is his castle, including the type of table he may care to set in the castle's dining room. The logical authoritarian answer to high compulsory medical costs is an equally compulsory enforcement of "preventive" health standards. Well, if compulsion is to be the universal wave of the future, why not? So, one-two-three-four, bend that back.

Libertarians who would prefer to leave the promotion of any and all medical benefits to private hands will not fail to note that the coercive "wave of the future" has swept over "voluntary" Switzerland and Australia to some extent: Both countries tax their citizens to provide relatively small amounts of subsidy money for bestowal on selected private medical insurance societies.

But if one must choose between types of public health coercion, the Swiss and Australian systems are certainly greatly to be preferred to the British, German, Austrian, or Swedish variety. At least, the patient and the doctor are left free to find each other in Switzerland and Australia, on terms that are mutually agreeable. At least there is a competition between societies to serve their members.

As for the US, it has the grand opportunity to remain with the Swiss and the Australians on the side of relative medical voluntarism. Dr. Schoeck's book illuminates a score of pitfalls and outlines at least one or two ways to relative sanity. One can hope for it a wide reading before the country makes its final choice between common sense and going off the deep end.

Reprints of this article are available: single copy, 15 cents; 15 for \$1; 35 for \$2; 125 for \$5; 300 for \$10; 1,000 for \$20. Order by section number and date of issue.

Whatever Happened to LBJ?

By ART HOPPE

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A COUPLE OF MONTHS ago, I attempted to launch a nostalgic new series entitled: "Where Are They Now?" It was to be about once-famous celebrities whom the public, in its careless way, had cast aside and forgotten. Unfortunately, as my first subject I chose Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson. Remember him? But darned if I could find out Where Was He Now.

You can imagine how his disappearance from the public eye must have affected his millions of old-time fans. "Whatever happened to Lyndon Whatshisname?" they'd be worrying. "Wherever he is, I hope he's getting enough to eat," they'd be worrying. "You don't think he's taken his own . . . Oh, no!"

So a wave of heartfelt thanks must have engulfed the nation when dedicated newsmen, in the finest tradition of Stanley & Livingstone, at long last tracked him down. Still alive! In a place called Mission, Texas. The brief but poignant news was flashed to a waiting world thusly:

"MISSION, TEXAS—Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson dedicated a sterile screwworm factory here today."

THE STORIES, with a callous disregard for human interest, went on to explain what a sterile screwworm factory was. As though we fans of Mr. Johnson cared. As one might expect, a sterile screwworm factory is a factory which makes sterile screwworms. Or, more accurately, a factory which makes screwworms sterile.

The stories said this factory has a peak capacity, barring labor unrest, of 75 million screwworm flies a week. And each screwworm fly is being rendered sterile by radioactive cobalt. Which, if you ask me, is a hell of a way to treat a screwworm fly. Although, to be sure, it could happen to any of us these days.

The male screwworm flies, the stories wound up, are then thrown out of airplanes to mate with non-sterile female screwworms in hopes of eradicating screwworms forever. Which is as good a way to go as any.

But what about Mr. Johnson? How did he look? Has he grown a beard? Is he thin? And most important of all: Is he happy down there in Mission, Texas, with all his screwworms?

WE MILLIONS of his old-time fans certainly hope so. We feel that since he renounced the public spotlight for the simple anonymity of the Vice Presidency, he deserves a rest. And we like to think of him now in the evenings, a-sitting and a-rocking on his porch serenely over his vast screwworm spread.

"Tex," he says philosophically to his foreman, "running the country was a mighty hard chore. And you can't buy peace of mind like this in Washington. But we better mount up. We got to cut a couple million head out of the north 40 before roundup time and check for rustlers. Git along, little screwworm, git along, thar!"

And they ride off into the sunset together.

Which is a lovely ending to a "Where Are They Now?" type piece. And it warms the hearts of us millions of old-time fans. Because we who watched Mr. Johnson manipulate his way to the top in Washington know he's not going to have a mite of trouble riding herd on a couple of million sterile screwworms.



—Houston Chronicle

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Purpose of Education

By DR. JOEL H. HILDEBRAND

A JUVENILE GANG is not a group to decide wisely "what is for the good of all." Instead of "adjusting" students to docile membership in whatever group they happen to find themselves, we should equip them to cope with their environment, to wrestle with difficulties, to adjust environment, not to be adjusted to it, to be willing to stand alone, if necessary, for what is right and true.

It is a poor education that does not fit a man to be alone with himself. . . .

Can you imagine what Beethoven's symphonies would sound like if he had been first "socialized" in a school which had insisted on teaching him "acceptable ways of participating as a member of the group?" . . .

Indeed, one shudders to think what Beethoven, Michelangelo, Faraday, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Darwin might have become if they had been victims of teachers like the one in San Francisco who complained to a mother that her 10-year-old son thought of himself as an individual instead of as a member of . . . his "peer group". . . .

Social studies are commonly a dump for all sorts of matters that may be "social" but are not "studies": e.g., "sophomore problems," "dating and grooming," "bachelor living." A disturbed parent wrote to me in part as follows:

"Our son who attends the seventh grade in . . . school, has to participate for two 50-minute periods each week in cooking and sewing.

"We have complained and discussed this with the school principal and with the superintendent. The latter hinted broadly that as foreign-born citizens my husband and I naturally do not have an understanding of the American philosophy of life or even the right to criticize.

"It is felt by our 'educators' that cooking and sewing for boys are essential to help make 'good Americans.'"

These two administrators must be under the impression that the cold war is to be settled by an international boys' sewing bee. . . .

The decision between education and "adjustment" as the proper aim of public schools is one of the public policy, not one for "research"; it should be made by representatives of the people, not by civil service "experts" . . .

A citizenry that is fully determined not to lose the cold war must elect some of its best and wisest members to boards of education, members who will not abdicate to professional administrators their own responsibility for educational policy; members who will insist that their schools do the utmost to educate every student to the limit of his capacity to become an informed, competent, strong, responsible individual . . .

From an address entitled "The Battle for Basic Education" delivered at the national meeting of the American Chemical Society.

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JFK's Long Promises

From the Beckley (W. Va.) *Post-Herald*

We get awfully angry, and more frightened daily, about the so-called New Frontier which is nothing but a catch phrase for turning this nation's government over to the Kennedy family. And the results are becoming more depressing with every passing day

We should like to quote from a few of Kennedy's campaign statements:

"I want to be a President who acts as well as reacts... who masters complex problems as well as a one-page memorandum.

"I am not promising action in the first 100 days alone. I am promising you 1,000 days of exacting Presidential leadership.

"Our military position today is measured in terms of gaps—missile gap, space gap, limited-war gap.

"Rebuilding our prestige must be the primary concern of our next President. . . . To rebuild American prestige will not be easy. . . . We can regain the faith and confidence of men and women of good will around the world."

President Kennedy is mighty good with words. He spreads them around as easily as melted butter.

West Virginians particularly have reason to know that many of the Kennedy promises have not been kept.

Candidate Kennedy was as emphatic as any man could be about how he was going to put this state back into full prosperity and employment. Indeed, he made such statements, vowing highly increased economic growth, for the whole nation.

Such economic growth has not been forthcoming. And it will not be as long as Kennedy forces prices to remain static while wages continue to climb.

More and more here of late we have become frightened about this nation's future. More and more it appears that we, as a nation, have become a complex toy purchased by a playboy who, if he does care, does not know where nor how to go from here.

What John Marshall Said

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, who served in that position from 1801 to 1835, is usually quoted today as the "authority" for the new trend in usurpatious legislation by the Supreme Court as it adventures into areas where no law is written save by judicial decree.

But this sort of violation of the Constitution by the courts was not sanctioned by Chief Justice Marshall when he said these words:

"The enlightened patriots who framed our Constitution, and the people who adopted it, must be understood to have employed words in their natural sense, and to have intended what they said."

Our Constitution means exactly what it says—and all powers not delegated to the Federal government nor denied the states are retained by the states and the people. The courts have no right and no legitimate power to go beyond what the Constitution says in "words in their natural sense."

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ON BIG GOVERNMENT—"More and more in later years we have been engaged in the perfectly silly undertaking of trying to make this Federal organization function as the general governmental agency of all the peoples. As a result, we have built up at Washington a governmental colossus, a monstrosity utterly beyond human comprehension of democratic control, regardless of which party or group of officials is in power. By the nature of that sort of government, it is inevitable that there shall be extravagance, wastefulness, tyranny. It is inevitable that there shall be more and more government by directives, issued by appointed, not elected, personnel working without supervision." (the late former Representative Hatton W. Summers, Texas Democrat, before the Second New England Conference in 1943)

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Bobby's Record

By Representative Frank J. Becker (R.-N. Y.)

I want to take this opportunity to offer my congratulations to Bobby Kennedy, the Attorney General of the United States, for his great accomplishments in his office during the first 18 months of his administration.

First, his great success with roasting wieners in his office in the Justice Department for the VIP children. This earned front-page coverage all over the country.

Second, his wonderful parties at his country estate. The selected group to be pushed in the swimming pool fully clothed has brought whoops of joy from the American public.

And third, the recent act of "Beauty and Brumus." Poor Brumus is lonely, he must be brought to the Justice Department, where he is provided with a beautiful "governess"—at government expense—to walk him up and down the corridors. I wonder if there are any "curb your dog" signs in the Justice Department hallways. The public rejoices.

But the Hoffas and other racketeers are still roaming the land. Crime is on the increase and particularly here in the Capital City. Of course, his action in the steel hike case also drew rave notices.

I hope, someday, when Bobby gets over the heady publicity of these great events, he may be able to devote some time to the high office he holds as Attorney General.

No Subsidy, Indeed

From a letter to the *Washington Post*

Mrs. Arthur Goldberg's speech on "Federal Aid to Art" (May 3) is simply an unbelievable piece of nonsense.

Mrs. Goldberg said, "When my husband began receiving invitations to talk to groups interested in Federal aid to art and suggested that I take over for him, I had to make a study of fine arts, as well as performing arts. I kept an open mind, fortunately, and soon came to believe that fine arts, too, need aid. This aid need not necessarily be in the form of a subsidy," says Mrs. Goldberg. "An artist could be given a place to live, a place to work. He could be allowed some form of tax depreciation on his work, such as businesses receive."

Now if Mrs. Goldberg does not know that "giving an artist a place to live or a place to work" is a subsidy, Mrs. Goldberg does not know very much. Of course, it is a subsidy!

It is estimated by paint manufacturers that there are about ten million people pursuing some form of painting or art in the United States. Not much of a room can be obtained for less than \$50 per month, say \$600 per year. This multiplied by ten million is \$6 billion per year.

Does Mrs. Goldberg propose to extend this room to work and tax-depreciation assistance to all artists, some artists, indigent artists, qualified artists and sculptors? How much room and tax depreciation does she propose? What a nightmare this could be. I hereby nominate Mrs. Goldberg as Director of Non-Subsidy Aid to Artists, Painters and Sculptors of the United States.

—Francis C. Peters
American Art League, Inc.
Washington, D. C.